taboo between him and his daughter. The nubile fiancée then lives with her mother in complete seclusion for an entire month. This is the kuingisha chisungu, literally, to make certain of the marriage-ability. The girl's mother ceases to wash and bathe herself /kuoa/; the girl stops shaving her hair /kubea/.

The Menstruation Dance. /Kuimba chisungu/. This phase is also called the kufumie chisungu, which means in honor of the nubile maiden. Ordinarily this ceremony takes place in June or July, when the "eleusin" /Translator's note: raggee, a cereal grass/ is ripe. This is a time of plenty and beer. The kinswomen of the young girl invite the nachimbusa (the female director of this ceremony). As a token of the invitation, they give her a present /lusomo/, such as a chicken, for example.

From the moment when dancing in honor of the nubile girl begins, all sweeping of the hut must cease, and only the throwing of ashes /mito/ into the mupunda (space between the door and the hall on the left of the entrance) may take place. The women then go to fetch the nakalamba, whose task it is to invite the other women to come and dance, sing and beat the drum. She is not shaved and must be white with dust /abuta tutu/. These are the words she uses for the invitation: "Companions, help me in my task" /Bamayo, ngafweni ko mulimo/. All the women assemble in the hut. The director /nachimbusa/ is the one who gives the sign for the singing to begin. Everyone falls in with the refrain by beating the drum or dancing. The nachimbusa, who also dances, is clothed in a genet skin and wears a tuft of feathers as head-gear. She sings: "Chimbusa chikulu chienda ne ngala" (I am the director who walks with her head covered by a tuft of feathers). The dance begins at about sundown and ends towards dawn. The songs for this dance are extremely varied, some innocent and praising, others equivocal and often obscene. They dance like this for an entire month. Food is brought in daily in order to give strength to those who are dancing.

The Beer. After the month of "menstruation dancing" is over, the local beer is prepared in large quantities. It is offered to the fiancé's mother. Early in the morning after the night when the beer was prepared, the /214/ women flock to the fiancée's house for the mbusa. They split into two groups; while some go to fetch white clay (mpemba) others gather fire-wood (nkuni).

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

Other activities are also affected. There is little or no dancing in the hunger months, partly owing to the absence of beer.[1] Few journeys are planned, and the children tend to play listlessly. Usually more good-tempered than the average English baby, they whimper at the slightest provocation. I found it difficult to get informants to concentrate for more than short periods at this time of the year.

The physical effects of a seasonal shortage of food on the health of a people and the growth rate of their children has not yet been investigated, but from a sociological point of view there are other effects to be considered besides the lowering of energy due to actual under-feeding which the natives themselves recognize and describe (cf. p. 50). In a society in which people regularly expect to be hungry annually, and in which traditions and proverbs accustom them to expect such a period of privation, their whole attitude towards economic effort is affected. In some primitive tribes it is considered shameful for an individual or a whole community to go hungry.[2] It is something unexpected, and to be resisted with energy. Among the Bemba scarcity is within the ordinary run of experience, and accepted as such. This fact has a subtle but very powerful effect on their ideas of wealth and their incentives to work (cf. Chap. XIX).

Composition of the Diet.

The Bemba diet is in a sense a simple one since it is composed very largely of one cereal food—the finger millet already described. The bulk of each meal consists of a porridge made of this flour, and the subsidiary foods, meat or vegetable, are eaten with it in small quantities only (about half a pound of the latter to five pounds of the former). For their nutrition the Bemba depend almost entirely on the amount of millet they are able to get, and the seasonal variations from hunger to plenty consist in effect of the shortage or absence of this particular grain.[3]

[1] No ceremonies such as initiation rites or the founding of a village are carried out in the last moon of the rains, *Kutumpu* (March), probably for this reason. But it is also interesting that the people give ill health and bad luck as reasons for not holding ceremonies in this month. They say: 'March is an unlucky month. Look how many people fall ill at that moon.'

[2] Cf. Malinowski's account of the Trobriand islanders, who consider hunger shameful and give all their efforts to displaying food and producing it in excess. *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, 1935, vol. i, p. 227; *Argonauts of the W. Pacific*, 1922, p. 109.

[3] Dr. Widdowson calculates that the Bemba gets 75 per cent. of his calories

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

cried light-heartedly, hitting her stomach, 'I have been turned into a young girl, my heart is so light.'[1]

In an hour or so men and women gathered on the village square and burst into spontaneous dancing of a type I had never seen in ordinary life. Young men charged arm in arm up and down in lines singing Bemba and European songs. They imitated mission drilling and play-acting. Young girls played singing games amid screams of laughter. Drums beat, and the older women and babies clapped and shouted. It was like some wild Dionysiac rabble, and indeed these people might have been taken for drunkards, except that they were better tempered, more energetic, and showed more initiative in inventing new games. The next day, they went to work early, declaring that their arms were strong. The excitement on this particular occasion[1] was admittedly unusual, but I have described it as an example of the extreme delight of the Bemba in the sight of meat, and of meat in such profusion that it could be used for once in an utterly reckless way.

(*d*) *Other cravings.* Old men who have become accustomed to drinking beer say that they feel their stomachs asking for beer. Elderly people also long for snuff and will go to any lengths to get even a small pinch. *Kuba no mupatikishya ku fwaka* means 'to be in a state of begging for snuff', but I do not know if this craving has any correlation with dietetic deficiencies. Pregnant women are expected to be liable to pika[2] hungers and are said to 'ask their husbands suddenly to get them such and such'. They regularly pull lumps of clay from the walls of their huts to chew, and declare their mothers taught them this custom. I have heard that some children also eat clay, but I never saw this done.

(*e*) *Monotony and diet cravings.* Most Bemba seem to be specially liable to sudden cravings for different foods during the season of shortage. Whether this is due to definitely physiological reactions or to the excessive monotony of the diet at this season I do not know. To the European Bemba meals seem insipid and tedious at all seasons of the year. The foods available are not numerous, and even then they cannot all be used at any one time (cf. Chart on p. 41). There are a number of variations in the methods of cooking known, but, as in England, many of these require too much time for their preparation as a general rule. In one village

[1] *Nasanguka naba mukashyana ico mutima uayanguka.*

1 [The division and eating of the meat from a large antelope shot by the author. - Analyst]
2 [Erratum, should be "pica", = craving for unnatural foods. - A.]

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

third kept in the owner's hut for his near family or special friends. 273
But in each case, after the formal drinking has begun, the original 574
guests are joined by others who enter with a polite salutation, take a short pull at the beer, and stay for a short talk. When there is only one calabash to be divided in the village, each inhabitant will probably join the crowd in the hut at one time or another in the evening. Thus there is a constant coming and going of men and women, and the children who are too small to be left at home. Dancing nearly always accompanies the drinking. In these circumstances it is not surprising that there should be the maximum amount of excitement with the minimum of alcohol consumed. [535] Old women usually drink with the men. It is considered bad form [784] for young girls to do so, and women nursing small children are afraid to join in for fear that the baby might be harmed by contact with a hearth touched by some one ritually impure during the confusion of the evening's drink. Where there is enough beer therefore the women have a calabash of their own.

The guests come together in a condition of pleasurable anticipation. 535
They crowd into a hut about eight feet in diameter and sit 574
huddled on the floor side by side in the closest possible physical contact. The heat is terrific, as the fire is piled high to keep the water boiling and to give light to the company. Sweat pours down naked shoulders. Sometimes singing begins, and the whole company rock to and fro clapping their hands, or they may be wedged still tighter against the wall, and a space cleared for a solo dancer and a couple of big drums. The watchers sway, tap with their feet, and clap the rhythm. At other times the drums stand outside in the village square, and young men and women stream out of the hut to line up for the big round dance—*icila*, or the line dance—the *ngwai*. In these conditions the excitement of social intercourse is probably at least as potent as the influence of alcohol.[1] Real drunkenness, [733] in the form in which we know it, is more often to be found in the modern villages where a man can 'drink alone', or with a few friends and when dancing does not accompany the drinking.

It is difficult to estimate the quantity of beer drunk by the Bemba 273
during a year or an average night. In the harvest months—May to 433

[1] A compound-manager at Wankie Mine told me that he had found the same amount of intoxication produced among the mine employees at a Christmas beer-drink with an alcohol content of about half that which was usual. He explained it by saying, 'I think they had been expecting to get drunk at Christmas for so long.'

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

291
301

Nangoshye, the mistress of the ceremonies. (Note the *mpande* beads described in song 39)
(See p. 61)

881
535

Chisungu solo dance outside a hut
(See p. 59)

[facing p. 49]

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

881 554 463 793 present, but *banacimbusa* are rather wealthier than their fellows owing to the payments they receive, and they carry themselves with considerable dignity and circumstance.

The *nacimbusa* stands in a special relationship to the girl she [608] has initiated throughout her life. She will probably deliver the girl's first child and act as *mbosua*, or special guardian, to the baby.

881 202 576 *The messenger.* In the old days when the exchange of feasts formed a more important part of the ceremony than they do now, the *nacimbusa* was assisted by a woman known as the *nakalamba*, who was employed to invite the guests to the ceremony by rolling on the ground in front of their houses—the Bemba form of obeisance to a chief. They also fetched clay for the pottery and supervised the ritual cooking of the food.

881 584 *The candidates and their bridegrooms.* The initiation candidate is known as the *nacisungu*. As I have said, these girls were usually betrothed before the ceremony, but it was possible to carry out rites in the case of a girl who was not yet affianced. The bridegroom of a betrothed girl takes part in certain of the ceremonies under the title of *shibwinga*, and this term is also extended to the sister or cross-cousin who may replace him in certain parts of the ceremony.

881 593 604 *The relatives.* Other relatives include the girl's parents and her father's sister. The girl's mother is responsible for providing food and beer, and her father's sister is believed to have a special influence over the fertility of her paternal niece and to stand in a special relationship to her. But the ring of relatives is comparatively small. The uxorilocal family is the chief unit involved.

881 533 *The character of the rite.* The chisungu is a popular ceremony involving much dancing and singing. There is a special drum-beat characteristic of chisungu ceremonies which is frequently used at ordinary beer feasts and always used throughout the rite. Drums are beaten inside the initiation hut, and on the dancing space outside, but they are also carried wherever the women go, some miles out into the bush and back again. The singing is accompanied, as always among the Bemba, by the beat of the drums and by the clapping of hands. Some songs are peculiar to the ceremony and 881 535 are necessary parts of the rite, but some can be sung at other times. All the chisungu dances are of a characteristic type. They

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

are solo performances with a definitely dramatic character, and are not round dances of the kind usually seen on the village ground of an evening.

Dancing among the Bemba is done for amusement, but it may be also done 'for respect'. Commoners will dance for their chief: a young man will dance for an older woman or man; a senior man may dance for a senior woman of his wife's family. In such dances of respect it is common for the soloist to dance in front of the person he wants to honour, and to sing definitely to him or her. It is particularly respectful to dance with vitality and dash. I have frequently heard headmen rebuking a crowd of bedraggled young women brought out to dance for me in the rain. The phrase was always the same: 'Rejoice, can't you? Do you want people to think we have no respect? Go on, there! Try to rejoice.' In the chisungu ceremony this type of dance of respect is as important a way of carrying out obligations as the provision of food and beer. It is no mere accident that the chisungu is described as 'dancing the girl'.

The mimes representing domestic and agricultural life are usually more serious performances. They sometimes involve real play-acting and the exact imitation of the animal or the behaviour of the person concerned. In most cases, however, what I have described as mimes are formalized representations of an action, such as pounding grain or sowing seeds, and they tend to resemble the rather stereotyped movements of a kindergarten singing game in this country.

The term 'sacred emblem' is used throughout this account. I have selected this word to translate a Bemba word, *mbusa*, which means 'things handed down'. The *mbusa* are of various types, but they may all be considered as secret in the sense that they either have a secret name or a secret meaning. They are of three types. The first of these are the pottery emblems. These are a series of models of common objects made of fired clay, usually painted with white, black and red. Some of them represent domestic objects (a water pot, a hoe or a pipe), some animals or birds (a crocodile or an egret), some are fertility symbols, and some represent historical characters. Many of them are realistically modelled and easily recognizable, while others are conventional pot designs each with a name. A certain number of designs are common over the whole

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

X 881 There followed a series of solo dances done by the old women.
● 535 The rhythm of the drums was definitely of the chisunga type, but some of the songs did not seem to be connected with the ceremony. The tone of the company was serious throughout. The two girls themselves hardly ever ventured to peep out from under their blanket coverings. When they did, they looked frightened and shy.

The enclosure of the girls (*ukusakila banacisungu*)

X 881 After about an hour spent in this way, the company rushed out with a good deal of laughter and talking to a small *mufungo* tree that stood on the village garden mounds. The two girls trailed behind, still covered by blankets, pushed and shoved along by the younger helpers. There were no men present and young children were warned off by excited screams. Nangoshye sat down by the *mufungo* tree and began pulling out leaves with her mouth. Then she made the girls crouch against the stem of the tree while the women built a sort of windscreen of branches round them. This was described as 'hiding the girls'.

('They are hiding them from the young girls and children.')[1]

Making fish-traps for the girls (*ukuteela banacisungu*)

Quite suddenly, Nangoshye shouted new directions. With screams of merriment, each women began to snatch at a *mufungo* bush for leaves. These pear-shaped leaves they folded into cones to resemble the small conical fish traps used by the Bemba. They sang a song about setting fish traps (No. 2) and ran round laughing as they pretended to catch each others' fingers in the leaf traps.

[831] ('It is a parable.' (*Ni milumbe*) 'The fish has many children and so will the girl.' 'It represents the organ of the man.')[2]

The girls' first jump (*ukuciluka banacisungu*)

More shouted orders from Nangoshye and the piled-up branches were snatched away from round the girls as they cowered at the foot of the tree. The boughs were stacked on their backs and

[1] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* All informants agreed that the girls were to be hidden from the community by this act.

[2] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation* (A.C.). The mother says she has given the girl all the teaching she can. She hands her over to the *nacimbusa* now.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

been given to my lion husband. Come and look! Come everyone and look! We are taking them to where they were left at the *mukolobondo* tree."[1]

The rite ended with a ceremonial obeisance by the three senior *banacimbusa*. The three wrinkled old women rolled flat on their backs in the centre of the hut in the salute usually given to a chief. A definite episode seemed to have ended.

('They did it for respect, (*mucinsh*)—to give honour, (*ukucindika*)'.)

Some of the visiting women broke away from the crowd at the door of the hut and rushed into the open. They began to vie with other women in solo dances. The performance went on far into the night. Beer was being served in front of the huge fire in the centre of the hut and the dancing went on in the moonlight outside.

The teasing of the girls (*ukubacushya*)

At about nine in the evening, Nangoshye suddenly shouted out, 'Now let's start to tease the girls.' She and her helpers pushed into the hut and picked up the two girls by their arms and legs and swung them to and fro in front of the fire singing (No. 5):

> '*Let us shake her, shake her,*
> *The enemy has made himself hard.*'[2]

('It is just done to give them knowledge of the world.')

SECOND DAY

The next day passed without special rites. The *banacisungu* were sent out of the village to visit relatives elsewhere. The beer was exhausted, but dancing sprung up in the evening at about five o'clock outside the chisungu hut and went on until half-past ten at night. A number of visitors had already assembled from other villages, and this seemed to stimulate further solo dances. Most of these dances were of the play-acting type. They represented little

[1] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* We are bringing the girls to the place of life, i.e. the *mukolobondo* tree. The girl is given to her husband who is strong as a lion. She calls on the women to see what kind of man her husband is. (A.C.).

[2] A reference to the women's punishment of the girls for the faults of their youth.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

881 535 scenes of everyday life, extravagantly burlesqued and done with great character and abandon. Some of the dances belonged specifically to the chisungu ceremonies and were done to the chisungu rhythm, but others were dances that might be done at any beer drink of a rather formal character.

Most of the dances were comic. For instance, two or three women did dances imitating the hop of a frog to an accompanying song by the whole company. One gave a rendering of a woman gathering potatoes, and another of a woman grinding maize. Then a young man suddenly leaped into the centre with a light springing step from side to side. He snatched up a maize cob from the floor [522] and tied it on his back to represent a baby, amid roars of laughter from the clapping crowd. A woman got up to join him and they threw the baby from one to the other in a way that was evidently considered comic in the extreme. The dance was described as 'just dancing', (*ukucindafye*). Then came a special chisungu dance. 881 A young man who was not only the brother of the affianced 535 bridegroom, but the son of a *nacimbusa*, sprang into the 576 middle of the circle to do a typical dance of respect. He danced to each of the older women in order of seniority, calling them out to dance opposite him and singing one of the songs of respect that belong to such occasions. (No. 6.) He evidently knew the etiquette, and was determined to make the party go with a swing. He was described as 'a very respectful young man', (*wa mucinshi*).

Other dances of respect followed. Men of the girl's family did solo dances in honour of the women of the bridegroom's family. The younger women saluted the older *banacimbusa* in this way. One or two of the dances were modern, imitating the drill of the local Protestant Mission school.

THIRD DAY—SIXTH DAY

The making of the small pottery emblems

881 The third day opened with the carrying of a small pot of beer to Nangoshye and her helpers. It was presented by the mother of the bridegroom as part of her required payments.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

After about ten minutes, the group broke up and formed up again into another dance representing the guinea-fowl. The women pretended to churn up the ground with their feet and sang calling on the birds to come (No. 8).'You guinea-fowl come here and wait!'

('That is the way we teach them. The guinea-fowl scratches up the soil. If a girl idles and they scold her, then she remembers the teaching of the chisungu, and she will say, "This is what they told me about the guinea-fowl"!' Cf. also p. 30.)

All the main actors then pretended to sow seeds they had brought with them in a basket—maize, ground-nuts and beans. After 'sowing' them, they scraped the seeds up with their hands, singing (No. 9):

'The small garden,
The garden of the ground-nuts.'

('It is just to teach the girl how to garden.')[1]

The heat was now intense. Sweat poured down Nangoshye's face and back, but she was indefatigable. She kept urging her helpers and the *banacisungu* to sing louder and to dance harder.

She then picked up the maize cob in her mouth and gave it to the girls to bite. Everyone sang over and over again (No. 10):'The tortoise never climbs, but today he is climbing the *mukolobondo* tree.'

(Subsequent interpretations were varied. P.B.M. 'You see, tortoises do not climb, but today they are climbing. The girl must learn to do impossible things. Even though she is not a man, she must climb trees to get firewood if it is needed.' An old *nacimbusa* 'They teach the girl to go and fetch firewood—if she does not know how to use an axe she must do it if her husband is away.' A younger *nacimbusa* 'It is just a story. If the husband commits adultery, she must say nothing about it. She has just to ignore it. We teach her this so that she can remember "This is the thing they taught me about the tortoise".')[2]

[1] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation* (A.C.). 'You do not use the word garden for land that has not been dug. You cannot expect to get ground-nuts, or anything else, unless you have worked on the land.'

[2] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* (A.C.) 'You say you never do a thing but when the testing time comes your resolve breaks down and you do a thing against your habit as the tortoise who suddenly climbs a tree. The young girl must be careful especially in time of hunger when she is tempted to break hospitality rules.'

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

unalterable prerogatives of age. As a man's arm-pit can never be higher than his shoulder so the younger can never be more important than the older.

Preparation of the emblem bundles

Bundles of domestic emblems were now made up. These consisted of things commonly used in daily life—firewood, salt, meat, tobacco, the various seeds used in cooking, red cam wood powder, twigs of trees with magic properties and particularly of the woman's trees (*mwenge*, *mufungu* and *musuku*).

There followed an interminable series of songs. The initiation candidates hung uncomfortably from the branches of the tree, while beneath the emblems were offered, taken in the mouth and honoured by each of the women in turn, the company singing over and over again:

> '*Let me pick it up*
> *Let me pick it up with my mouth.*
> *My mbusa.*' (*No.* 14)

At last, the girls were brought down from the tree and with five or six of the younger helpers they were told to lead a round dance. They were shy, tied and awkward, and the dance went lamely. It was evidently important, however, that an impression of jollity should be given for the older women sat round them screeching vehemently, 'Rejoice, can't you? You girls, why can't you manage to rejoice?' Asked why this was necessary, Nangoshye said shortly, 'They must do it for respect.'

The mock bridegrooms

It was now between one and two o'clock, and we turned to go back to the village. As we went, two women dashed across the front of the procession shouting. They had armed themselves with toy bows and arrows and had tied twigs round their heads. They had leaf cups similar to those of the fish trap ceremony hung all over them. They were shouldering a long sapling on which hung a piece of ant-hill to represent a load. They had stained themselves all over with the red powder.

These were the sisters of the bridegrooms and they were greeted

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

pleasure and confidence. It seemed to be the ritual acknowledgement of the mother's duty to provide food and to cook for her married daughter for some years after the wedding has taken place.)

The mock bridegrooms suddenly reappeared, pretending this time to be lame old men who could hardly walk. Again the same delighted screams of, 'Here are the *shibwinga*' and the shouted badinage with the mock old men, who came this time with horns of leaves on their heads. The company started singing a song about fetching salt.[1]

The whole procession danced three times round the girls who stood in the centre with downcast eyes. Then the crowd moved off to sing in front of the house of the bridegroom's (classificatory) mother. His own mother lived in a village elsewhere.

The hidden emblems

We then turned back to the chisungu hut where another type of *mbusa* had been hidden in the hut roof. Presents such as copper bangles would have been used in the old days, but on this occasion heads of millet were thought sufficient. The women all pretended to look for the *mbusa* while singing a song. (No. 16)

'*You look for a little snake for me on the roof.*'[2]

The test of maturity

We crowded into the hut in which the fire had been extinguished preparatory to its ritual relighting later in the day. Two large water pots were set on the floor and into each was put one of the

[1] *Subsequent interpretations.* The explanations were particularly contradictory in this case,' and they were instructively so. A youngish and knowledgeable *nacimbusa* said the horns were to keep off witchcraft. They were to imitate the horns of the witch-doctor. The mock bridegrooms pretended to be old to show that the girls were to learn 'to grow up with their husbands and never to despise them'. An old woman said, 'Yes, the women are imitating the witch-doctors, those who know how to give parenthood (*bufyashi*)'. R.B.M. explained, 'It is to teach the bridegroom that even though he is old and tired he must look after the girl. Also, however ridiculous he is made to appear in the eyes of the world he must still do his duty'. A young girl, obviously considering the question for the first time, said 'It is good for a husband to be old. It is nice to marry a young man, but then he only goes off to the mines and leaves you alone. An old husband will stay behind and make you a garden.'

[2] A.C. 'You must plan for dangers ahead, i.e. the snake unexpectedly in the roof.'

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

[535] little darting water insects known as *njelela*. The dancing and the drumming started up and Nangoshye alternately jogged up and down on bent knees and tried to catch the little insects in her mouth. It seemed an almost impossible task and she failed, after many efforts, and much encouragement. Then the two girls themselves set to work, this time with unwonted animation. Both succeeded in catching an *njelela* and spitting it into the hands of Nangoshye to the sound of much clapping and ululation.

This rite which was carried out with all the laughter and excitement of a game of snap-dragon at an English Christmas party was evidently considered of some importance. It seemed to be a test of the maturity of the girls in the sense of their acquisition of that important social attribute of every Bemba—*mano*, or social sense.

('They try to find out if the girls have grown up (*nga nabakula*).' 'If the girl doesn't catch the *njelela* the women all know "She has not yet acquired *mano*", and the mother has to pay a forfeit.')

The girls made free to offer food

Two large winnowing baskets were then brought in and filled with ground nuts, peas and beans. One had a small basin with a collection of miscellaneous objects in it—a bracelet, a maize cob, some salt, some snuff, etc. These again were described as *mbusa*. Both of the baskets were covered with lids as food is covered when [576] it is carried as a token of respect. There followed more offerings of respect to the *nacimbusa*. Drums and singing went on incessantly, the company jogging up and down with bent knees as before and a younger woman uncovering the basket with her mouth, picking up seeds in her mouth and dropping them into Nangoshye's hands. They sang, among other songs (No. 17):

'*You have uncovered it.*
You have eaten the whole nsomo.'[1]

The *mbusa* were looked for, found, picked up with the mouth again and handed to and fro. Again came the song of the arm-pit not being higher than the shoulder. All this was described as, 'It is a way of honouring the senior people' (*ukucindika abakalamba*).

[1] A.C. comments: the nsomo was the bridegroom's gift. It tells the girl: 'You have uncovered it. This is your life. You have to look after others in need.'

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

Then the girls were pulled to the front and told to invite the company to eat. They sang:

> '*The food from our gardens is finished.*
> *Help yourselves, mothers*' (No. 18)

('We older women say, "Now we have danced the child as a gardener. She must start to cultivate herself now".' (*Fwe abakalamba twacindila umwana wa umulimi. Nomba ali no kulimishya.*))

There followed an endless business of handling the seeds which were offered to everyone present in order of seniority and then handed back. It was a relief when the father of one of the girls danced into the hut and did a capering solo in honour of the *nacimbusa*, throwing a cheap bracelet into one of the baskets. He was criticized as being mean in his gift, but the dance was done with great dash and gaiety.

The ritual lighting of the girls' fire (*namushimwa*)

An important stage in the ceremony had now been reached—the lighting of the new fire. This might be described as the first of the rites of aggregation. The senior 'father's sister' of one of the girls, wrinkled and bent with rheumatism, danced to the company and then lay down on her back. Nangoshye picked up a fire stick and started twirling it round in the groove on the old woman's thigh, telling the two girls to copy her afterwards. Then the two old women set out to make fire in earnest. Women do not commonly make fire among the Bemba. The work needs skill and practice as well as considerable strength. The two old women rubbed the fire stick in turns, sweating and groaning with the effort. The company swayed to and fro moaning the chisungu fire songs:

> '*We have come to beg fire,*
> *Lion we beg it of you.*' (No. 19)

and

> '*Scratch, Scratch* (*The grating of the fire-sticks*),
> *How many children have you borne?*' (No. 20)

After half an hour of growing anxiety, I offered a box of matches which are commonly reckoned as 'new fire' in Bemba ceremonial.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

so that there will be a lot of visitors and everyone will say the chisungu is a very good one indeed.'

The rest of the company had already returned exhausted to their homes.

TENTH DAY

The guinea-fowl

The next day was spent in the same laborious fashion. A stellate design covering the whole floor was modelled and covered with colour and seeds. It was described as the guinea-fowl design (*amakanga*) and appeared to be associated with agricultural fertility as in the case of the guinea-fowl dance described on page 71.

('It is to remind the girl not to forget her hoe, and that she is to go on giving the people food', said one of my best informants. The guinea-fowl is also a sexual symbol. (See page 81.))

Again the elaborate models were cleared away at night. Desultory drumming and dancing went on until late.

ELEVENTH DAY

The festive porridge eating (*bwali bwa ukuangala*)

I was called in the middle of the morning to see an enormous cooking-pot full of water being set on the fire in the hut of the mother of one of the girls. Ordinary porridge was to be made, but the cooking itself was a ritual act. The flour was first stirred in by Nangoshye, who then handed over the spoon to one of the girl's maternal relatives. When the meal was cooked the girl's maternal grandmother was called to dish up the porridge and to hide *mbusa* in it. She filled a great enamel basin with porridge served in the usual way, and then stuck on top of it a small rounded lump of the cooked meal filled with the domestic *mbusa* (tobacco, salt, beads, meat, red dye and a small lump of whitewash). The whole was then decorated with marrow seeds and red dye and carried to the chisungu hut. Here a similar bowl had been prepared by the mother of the second girl and it stood waiting with the accompanying relish beside it.

It was a day of offering and receiving offerings—from the girls' mothers to the *banacimbusa*; from the younger *nacimbusa* to the

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

older in order of seniority; from the initiated women to the girls. It was a display of ceremonial obligation, of precedence, of *mucinci*, to use the common Bemba term. The younger helpers danced with the porridge bowls on their heads while the *banacisungu* were pushed in backwards, again on all fours, to the singing of the entering-in song (No. 15). The porridge bowls were ceremonially uncovered and covered again with ululation. The girls' paternal relatives seized the dishes and offered them to all present in order of seniority. The bowls were then put on the girls' own heads and they were made to dance round with them to show their respect to the *banacimbusa* present.

Singing games followed. The two senior paternal relatives of the girls pretended to chase each other off a small stool with Nangoshye scolding them and the company singing, 'Don't sit on the stool.' (No. 26) This was said to represent the Bemba custom of chasing the Shimwalule, the official burier of the Citimukulu from office after he had performed the mortuary ritual required of him.[1]

The same two old women next pretended to hunt and spear fish under the porridge bowl. This was explained as, 'The girl tries to hide food from her mother-in-law and asks her friends to keep the matter dark.'

Nangoshye picked up a porridge bowl pretending it was too heavy to carry. The women sang about a bat (No. 25) who represents the woman who goes out to hunt for lovers in the dark. They also sang another song about the hawk who pounces down on food without ceremony—which no girl should do. (No. 26)[2]

The girls were then made to touch each bowl all over and each lid was again picked off in a woman's mouth and offered to each elder in order of precedence. The oldest paternal aunt, Nacitembo (see page 62) then gave each girl a small lump of porridge and took it back; she then hid some of the porridge on the roof.

The hidden *mbusa* were now to be shown to the company. Nacitembo, as the oldest woman present and the representative of the father's side of one girls' families, danced holding the small

[1] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation* (A.C.). A woman must not sit on a stool in the presence of her elders.

[2] A.C. interprets No. 25: 'Evening is the time for play but wait until the housework is over before chatting with friends.'

The Ceremony

balls of porridge filled with the domestic emblems. The two girls were stood against the wall under their own wall marks. Paternal relatives stood one on each side of them and passed the balls with the hidden emblems from side to side across them. This was to make them free to eat all the foods. It was, in other words, the removal of the girls' food taboos.

The company burst into song which goes with the representation of the washing of the husband's hands, (see page 202) and the girls' hands were washed. The paternal aunt danced out in front and kept pretending to show the hidden *mbusa* to the girls and fighting with Nangoshye who pretended reluctance to let them be seen.

The endless giving and taking came suddenly to an end in one of those dramatic moments that move even the weariest onlooker. The women broke into a song of unusual melody (No. 41):

Cibale! Cibale!
Come and wash your husband!
You ignorant creature,
Go and draw water,
Cibale! Cibale!

A younger *nacimbusa*, dancing with great vitality and charm, bent as though to pour water on the hands of every woman present in order of the assembled hierarchy. She pretended to whitewash the floor beneath each and bowed low to clap obeisance.

The company were roused to excitement immediately. To my questions they whispered: 'That is respect!' 'That is how the woman honours her husband. That is how he knows she has been taught. If a woman does not know how to wash her husband's hands, he will say, "That is not a woman. She is like someone who hasn't been danced!" ' (*Canakashi! Calanga kashicindile!*)

The tension seemed to break. The ceremony was over. The porridge was divided up in a business-like way and each family took its portion. There was scrapping about the size of the bowls and a general return to normal life.

In the late afternoon, dancing began again and at night the teasing of the girls went on once more. One girl cried at once and

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

was applauded. The other girl was throughout more stocky and reserved. A woman said to me: 'Well, we can't give her up! We must go on and on trying to teach her.'

TWELFTH DAY

This was a blank day. Nangoshye declared herself insulted and went off to reap her own fields. She had plenty to eat, as was clear to anyone sitting in a tent near her hut; but the relatives did not bring her enough 'dishes of respect'. 'They neglect me,' she went off grumbling.[1]

In the evening the pottery emblems were piled with branches, scattered with leaves of the magic *mufungu* tree, and fired.

THIRTEENTH DAY

This was another quiet day. In the morning, Nangoshye and her helpers went to inspect the pile of pottery emblems still covered with smouldering ashes.

The snake

In the afternoon a new pottery figure was made in the hut. It was an immense snake (*yongolo*). The clay was smoothed into coils that circled round the floor of the hut with a tail on the fire-stands against one wall and a head rearing up the opposite wall. Again the work was heavy and lasted two or three hours. There was the puddling of the clay outside the hut, the fetching of gourd and bean seeds and the meticulous arrangement of seeds along every coil of the snake's body. There was the same concentrated air about the women and the sense of a fight against time, but the same unwillingness to shorten the work at all.

(The women were reluctant to speak of the meaning of this emblem. 'It's just a snake' several said impatiently. Another added, 'It is to teach her not to deceive her husband.' On question, Nangoshye looked down with great embarrassment and said, 'Yes, it is a sign of manhood.'[2]

[1] "*Bonsula*". *Ukusula* is to despise, neglect, or fail to acknowledge a person's rights.

[2] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* P. B. M. commented afterwards that it was not an ordinary snake. It was a *yongolo*, a very rare snake. It was to teach the girl that unexpected things might happen. She must support them all patiently.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

It was described as a place of safety, and again as a place to idle about in, (*ukuangala*), or to rest in. One woman said it was to teach the girl that she must no longer sit about in the village square. Her place, as a married woman, was inside the hut. Another referred vaguely to the crest on top of the roof and said it was like the feathered head-dress worn by a *nacimbusa* in the old days. It was a curious example of work done with a great expenditure of effort and apparently little interest in the meaning of the emblem produced.)

In the meantime, other women were at work making a screen about four feet high. It was covered with decorated clay. A small window was made in the wall and in the centre a round lump with a feather stuck in the middle of it.

(Here again, the symbolism was complex. The screen was called the *lubondo*. It was described as the wall of the house the man would build for his bride. The boss in the centre was called the navel and was referred to in a rather sly manner. The navel is always thought of as a rather amusing and slightly obscene part of the body by the Bemba and one woman said in a shamefaced yet slightly defiant manner, 'Yes, it is to teach her to yield herself to her husband—to let him sleep with her when he wants to.')

Whether or not the esoteric significance of these *mbusa* was realized by the company present, the atmosphere in the hut was that of a rather jolly children's Christmas party in England. The girls and their parents and close relatives crowded into the house in the evening and played uproarious games in and around the shelter and the screen. There was dodging behind the screen with a good deal of giggling and shouting, a ring dance round the shelter, and a ball game played with a rolled-up piece of cloth. The company enjoyed themselves and were most impatient of requests to 'explain' what they were doing. 'We are just honouring the past,' said one girl nonchalantly, smiling and poised to catch 'the ball' a fellow was aiming at her.

The games went on till about nine at night. After this, Nangoshye, the *banacisungu* and one or two helpers walked round and round the village beating the chisungu rhythm on the drums until late into the night. She said the drums would let people know how important a ceremony it was.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

SIXTEENTH DAY

881 This was a quiet day. The older women were away all morning
532 collecting millet and flour for subsequent festivities in the neigh-
535 bouring villages. In the afternoon, the fired pottery images were decorated with red, black and white and some of those kept permanently hidden away for use at chisungu ceremonies were brought out for re-painting. Dancing went on in the hut all night. The shelter and the screen had already been removed.

SEVENTEENTH DAY

The second woodland ceremony

881 *Bringing the girls out of doors* (*ukubafumya panse*). The day opened with a good deal of discussion and coming and going. I was told this was the day for bringing the girls out of doors, and I definitely had the impression that a new and important stage in the proceedings had been reached. We were to go out into the bush to a *mwenge* tree,[1] and there was a hot altercation among the older women as to which tree would be most suitable. The rest of the company gathered at the initiation hut, the two candidates looking for once quite cheerful with their clothes tucked above their breasts as Bemba women usually wear them. Their serenity was, however, short-lived, for Nangoshye immediately spotted them on joining the group. 'Pull your clothes off your breasts,' she shouted imperiously. 'Who do you think you are? People of status?'

The women seemed to be tired and there was quarrelling over the *mbusa* to be carried into the bush—an enamel bowl with the domestic emblems, salt, tobacco, white chalk, red dye and beads; a winnowing basket full of ground-nuts; and two of the pottery emblems which resemble a pot and its cover but are known as the garden mound (*mputa*) and the garden (*amabala*) (Cf. p. 96). A small gourd of beer was also carried by one of the younger girls who kept eating the sludge on its side with one finger although constantly rebuked for doing so. We made one or two false starts owing to someone having forgotten axes or hoes which were to be needed. In fact, I had the general impression that morale was low.

[1] One of the female trees.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

[881] The branch was then stuck in the ground and bent over to form an arch while the *mwenge* branch was crossed over it at right angles to form a double hoop, known as the *mupeto*. Everyone was now animated and interested, even though it was about one o'clock and they had had no solid meal during the day. The *mulombwa* bough was brittle and broke, but the company waited for the best part of an hour for a new one to be found, and they waited in the best of spirits, laughing and talking of this and that. The hoop was apparently to be set up for a trial jump to see if the girls could clear it. This they finally did.

The return of the lion killers

In the meantime, Nangoshye and some helpers had been to look [824] for a heavy log of a third tree—the *kabumba*—which represents a lion, and was throughout described as the lion. The two girls again knelt holding it on their shoulders, and again the older woman [535] offered the *mbusa* to it one by one with endless singing, drumming and dancing. Finally, Nangoshye danced up to it brandishing an axe tied round with leaves as was done in the old days when a lion had been killed and purification of the lion-killers took place at a chief's court. The effect of this solo dance was electrical. The company shouted and danced and broke into the famous song:

Kakoshi sompa! Cilipi! Cilipi!

that used to be sung by lion-killers and also by a man who had had his eyes put out for some offence and was made to come and do obeisance to the chief who had given the order for his punishment.

The return to the village was uproarious. Each of the *bana-cisungu* carried one of the hoops of the *mupeto* with the two ends lashed together to form a hoop. The log lion was balanced and carried on their shoulders. Nangoshye and the older *bana mbusa* brandished axes and hoes, running and shouting all the way. At the entrance to the village the girls were covered with a black cloth and the rest formed into some sort of a procession. The older [302] women and I were daubed with red dye and castor oil. The oil melted the red powder in the sun and a single spot spread to make a great crimson splash on the side of the face, so that we must have had an uncouth and eerie appearance. In fact, some of the younger girls, mission-trained, began to look embarrassed and to refuse to

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

881 the 'shelter' with their buttocks. This would be a considerable gymnastic achievement for an ordinary English girl, but was evidently not thought difficult by Bemba girls with arm muscles developed by much grinding and pounding of food. The mock [535] bridegrooms then repeated the performance and the rite was followed by a dance of respect to the older women by the father of one of the girls who came springing with a sort of chassis step into the hut, danced to acclamation and then disappeared as suddenly as he had come.

(The symbolism was again complicated and not described coherently by any of the women. I was told that this was the ceremony of 'the father of the roof' (*shintembo*). It meant that the bridegroom and bride were now to look after their relatives by marriage with kindness, i.e. not because of legal duty.

The triumph of the nacimbusa[6]

Nangoshye then pushed her way into the dancing space and mimed a tired woman who yawned and stretched, but could find no place to sleep. A mock bridegroom ceremonially presented her with a sleeping mat and she lay down on it singing over and over again:

'*Let us all lie down and sleep.*'

Then the 'bridegroom' gave her a length of cloth and she wrapped herself in it singing:

'*Spread the mat*
So that we may sleep
The banacisungu *say*
You have wrapped us in cloth.' (No. 31)

(Women whispered that the bridegroom was paying the *nacimbusa* to hand over the secret things to the bride. The *nacimbusa*, in her turn, tells the bride that she must accept her husband, (*ukusumina umwaume*).)[1]

Nangoshye then went out of the hut and returned with the big baskets filled with the pottery models that had been made with so much labour for the rite. She stood triumphant at the door with

[1] *Subsequent Bemba interpretation.* A.C. added: 'When you have something to do, do it so that you will not be misunderstood.'

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The Ceremony

The bathing of the girls

The two girls were then taken down to the river to be ceremonially bathed—another rite which follows most Bemba ceremonies. A little beer must still have been hidden away in the village for some of the older women seemed happily drunk. They did intoxicated solo dances in the mud on the water's edge singing:

'*We have gone to fill the pot.*'

They put grass bracelets round the girls' arms saying that they were an earnest of the many things their husbands would give them later.

NINETEENTH DAY

At about five next morning, I was woken by soft clapping outside my tent. I lifted the flap and there knelt the *banacisungu*, washed and shaved and with shining new white handkerchiefs on their heads. They were still in the humble, submissive attitude with eyes on the ground but they answered me quickly with the shy smiles and the little courtesies expected of polite young Bemba girls, their faces for the first time alive and responsive. In fact, the phrase 'rite of transition' began to have a new meaning for me when I remembered the dirty frightened exhausted creatures who had been badgered and pushed through the chisungu weeks, and compared them with these demure and shy young brides. They begged for little presents. Later I watched them kneel and clap obeisance outside each hut in the village. 'They are submitting themselves to the elders' was Nangoshye's proud comment. 'They show they are willing to work for us.'

TWENTY-THIRD DAY

The congratulations (*ukushikula*)

Just as Bemba rites of transition are followed by the *kulishya* or the giving of the freedom to eat, so they are also usually followed by the *ukushikula* or presentation to the community. The chisungu candidate, the bride after her wedding ceremony, and the chief or headman who has succeeded to a new title are all submitted to the same rite. The person who has changed his status is brought out of his hut and placed on a new mat outside its door. He is bathed,

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

[539]
x881
●535

Fulwe tanina;	The tortoise does not climb;
Lelo anina ku mukolobondo.	But today it is climbing the *mukolobondo* tree.

Interpretation. The tortoise does not naturally climb trees. If he climbed he would be breaking away from old habits as the girls will have to do, now that they are married. He is climbing up backwards. The *mukolobondo* tree is one with a very smooth bark which is very difficult to climb, but its fruit is very sweet.

Kasonde contributes: 'If you say you do not know how to do these impossible things, how can you keep house? How can you live? All right, we shall teach you today to do such things whether you like it or not.' Other informants specified in what way the girl was to do the unusual or impossible, i.e. by getting the firewood if needed, although that is reckoned as a man's job. One *nacimbusa* contributed the idea of reticence as expressed by this song. If the husband commits adultery, the wife must say nothing about it, but just ignore it, however difficult. Nkonde, as usual more in accord with European ideas of morality, added: 'You say you never do a thing but when the testing time comes your resolve breaks down and you do a thing against your habit, like the tortoise, who suddenly started to climb a tree.' Another interpretation is that given for song 50 of the tortoise which sticks out its head when visiting, i.e. asks for food, and puts it in when at home, i.e., conceals food.

[837]

No. 11. *The monkeys climb.* The girls pretend to bite at a maize cob with their mouths (p. 72). They sing:

[539]

Kolwe kulya kwakwe,	The monkey eats everything,
Kwa mutali shya;	It put us in difficulties;
Eya nine ku mukolobondo.	That's why he climbs the mukolobondo.
No. 12. *Kolwe ita nyina.*	The monkey calls its mother.

Interpretation. The monkey is here represented as foraging for food. He is also, like the tortoise, climbing the smooth bark of the *mukolobondo* tree. Explanations given by the women were concrete, i.e., that the girls should imitate monkeys because they eat everything on trees and they forage for food for the family as the

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Bemba FQ5

mother is very careful about this in preparing his food lest he die in consequence. He henceforth bears his man's name, and it is an insult to use his child's name again. V 55 881

Initiation of girls takes place in much the same way, instruction being given by the old women. After initiation most girls wear a string of big blue beads round the neck. In some cases, where it is not convenient to go far into the bush, a patch of bush near the village may be selected, the approaches are carefully guarded, and pieces of calico on bamboos are used as flags to mark the place. V 881

Namwali ceremony witnessed at Kasanka's village (Awisa tribe) August 30th, 1907:—A girl about fourteen years of age, well developed. Among the Awisa the initiation ceremony takes place when the girl has reached puberty and is ready to be married. Four days are spent by the candidate in a small grass hut built in the middle of the *bwalo* (= village open space), when instruction is given her in all her future duties by a woman who is her "friend," in this case a woman of about twenty-six years of age. B 881

About mid-day of the fourth day she was brought into the *bwalo* wearing old calico round the waist, and with two friends, one on either side, danced a kind of shuffling step backwards and forwards to the time of four drums; it was witnessed by the women of the village, who occasionally joined in the dance. After this she retired, and later in the afternoon reappeared with blue calico from waist as far as knees, white calico tied round waist as a sash, a rope of blue beads round neck and under arms. On the head she wore an erection made of flour and water with a B [535] B [302]

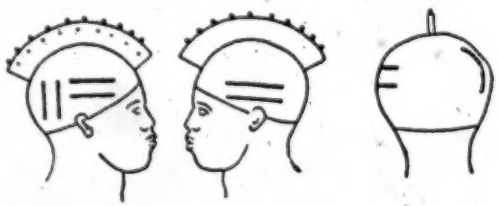

FIG. 1.

central crest into which were stuck little pieces of reed, lines of red were painted on the white ground as shown in sketch. Always supported by her "friend" or "sponsor," she again danced for a few minutes and then departed.

This night about twelve midnight *Zingau* was to be danced; all the evening and up till midnight a boy went round and round the village calling in a shrill voice warning none to approach. It was a very dark moonless night, and to the beating of seven drums (four small, two medium sized, one big) the *Zingau* came into the *bwalo*. One was an elephant 8 feet high with a man in each pair of legs—made of grass, trunk and tusks complete; the other, called an *Nswala* (a small antelope), resembled a dwarf jack-in-the-green more than anything else. The elephant pranced, the *Nswala* spun round and round; each was attended by a man with a B [534] B [778]

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao
Bemba FQ5

rattle who ran in front of it, and by whom the *Zingan* made appearance of being
881 baffled. The performance was witnessed by a circle of women and a few men. When the moon gave evidence of rising the figures disappeared.

The following morning the girl was again brought to the *bwalo* about 11 a.m.
302 and seated on a mat between her "friend" and her mother, while the women
881 danced to the time of seven drums. Her head was anointed with water and shaved, the process was started by a woman and then finished by a man, apparently the village barber; the left side of the head was shaved first. The mother was shaved by a woman at the same time.

While this was going on, presents were being made—maize, beads, a chicken,
[431] tobacco, bracelets, etc. When the shaving was finished several women came and spoke to the girl, after which she was taken away for the bathing in the lake close at hand, returning about 1 p.m. in new blue calico from waist to knees with white sash, the body well oiled all over, to the time of one small drum played by an old man; then, supported on either side by two "friends," she waited a few moments
881 while several women did a few shuffling steps, she then advanced alone and did a
[535] few steps. She then made a present of a chicken and tobacco to the drummer, and then to her father, kneeling to each. Again she danced alone, running to and fro

[532]

FIG. 2.

and spinning round quickly. During this time two masks, the *Sanchuna* and *Nkolola* (Fig. 2), appeared and mixed with crowd, danced about and made funny remarks; they went up to the girl and performed a kind of *danse-du-ventre*.

After thus dancing in the village she goes round to the houses of all her relatives, beginning at her father's house, and repeats the dance together with addition of a little *danse-du-ventre*, the masks (*Sanchuna* and *Nkolola*) go round with her, her immediate attendant being always her "friend." This night and the next day she spends in the house with her friend, the evening of the next day she goes to a
[836] separate house arranged for, and has to have coitus with a man who is asked to oblige; on emission taking place he has to withdraw in time, and the semen is collected on a cloth which has to be seen by the women. The following night she
[584] goes to the house of her betrothed to live with him; she has probably been betrothed since she was an infant.

About the *Sanchuna* and *Nkolola* I could learn nothing. These men wore
[532] masks with calico covering the back of the head and neck, a kilt made of stripe of leopard skin and grass bound round their arms and legs.

introducer of *Butwa* throughout these parts, and his name is famous in many a *Butwa* song."(1) Membership was open to all, irrespective of age and sex. The Ant-hill clan was particularly closely associated with the society. Refusal to join on the part of either of the spouses was a valid cause of divorce. A higher grade of elders (*mangulu*) in the society was constituted by members of both sexes who wore a special dress, bore special names and claimed to possess supernatural powers. Sessions were held annually or at longer intervals. The candidates, who had to pay an initiation fee, were given the *chibolo* concoction to drink and were paraded under an arch of bent saplings before entering the temple where sexual intercourse took place. Later they were given fetish horns by the elders of the society. Painted in stripes and smeared with white chalk they participated in the all-night dancing (imitative of the movements of the crested crane), the beer-drinking, and the festivities which followed. A good deal of sexual licence was allowed within the precincts of the temple. Members were bound to assist one another in sickness and need and were forbidden, under penalty of death, to divulge the society's secrets. *Butwa* performed fertility rites; it wielded considerable political power, so that the chiefs had to treat it with respect. It was feared by outsiders who charged it with terrorism and robbery. Special funerary ceremonies were performed at the death of members. Members of *Butwa* used an esoteric language, *Bubendo*; this was an argot formed by transposing syllables, changing initial letters and introducing obsolete words and compound metaphorical expressions. *Butwa* songs were sung by women members to the accompaniment of *chansa*, a musical instrument resembling the guitar. Apparently still flourishing in the first decade of the twentieth century, the society is said to have since died away.(2)

575 [586] [786] [302 535] [786] [766] [198] [535 534]

Blood-Brotherhood

Blood-brotherhood pacts were contracted between the natives and the Arab traders.(3) A marriage with a native girl, presumably a maternal relative of the blood-brother, was a usual concomitant of the ceremony.

608

Guilds

Occupational guilds were known in the Chishinga(4) and Aushi country where iron-ore smelting and iron-working were hereditary crafts surrounded by a wealth of ritual. It is likely that they also functioned in the Luapula valley while the industry was alive, though no mention of this occurs in the available sources.

467

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Kazembe was formerly an absolute overlord, subordinate in name only to Muata Yamvo to whom he continued to send annual tribute.(5) Lukwesa Mpanga did not send any for three years. When several of his subjects were killed or savaged by wild animals this was interpreted as a punishment for his neglect. He made amends by sending a convoy with slaves, salt and copper.(6)

643

(1) Campbell, op.cit.
(2) Brelsford, 1, 1946, p.14.
(3) Livingstone, II, p.258.
(4) Brelsford, 3, 1949.
(5) Valdez, II, p.174.
(6) Pogge, 1880.

643 At state functions the Kazembe appeared sitting on a stool placed upon
292 lion-skins. He was shaded by a canopy of umbrellas made of coarse native
293 cotton fabric(1) and wore an elaborate head-dress of scarlet and yellow
534 feathers, the *muconzo* cloth adorned with bead and cowrie ornaments, the
● 535 *insipo* girdle of hide,(2) and the *lukano* armband, emblem of his office.(3)
His notables and musicians sat nearby. Ceremonial dancing was performed
to the accompaniment of music.(4) Musical instruments(5) were *marimba*(6)
(a sort of xylophone), *chincufo*(7) (a basso drum), *imbirebire* (big conical
drum with cowhide or an elephant's ear stretched over the open end), *gonati*
(two pieces of iron connected by a curved rod). The *mondo*,(8) a hollow
wooden cylinder beated with drumsticks, was used to convey messages by means
of varying combinations of beats. The big sacred *chambancua* drum,(9) rest-
ing on a lion's skin in Kazembe's palace, was only brought out in wartime to
accompany the armies.

521 Clan and tribal history and family genealogies are favourite subjects
526 of discussion at beer-drinking parties. District and village rivalry now
finds expression in football matches.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

842 The male alone was thought to be instrumental in begetting children.
847 Babies who cut their upper teeth first were destroyed as bearers of bad
551 luck.(9) An infant is usually given the name of one of its dead ancestors
on either the paternal or maternal side; this gives some indication of an-
cestry. Chinyanta, Lukwesa, Ilunga, Muonga, are characteristic Lunda
names.

582 The effective exogamous unit is the *cikota*. Preferential marriage is
with the *mufyalo*, a person whose father is a fellow-clansman of one's mother
or conversely, and particularly with father's sister's daughter. A network
of affinal relationships thus develops between villages. In general there
are no definite preferences leading to marriages between certain clans, but
583 traditional reputations attaching to clans may cause their members to be
591 regarded as desirable or undesirable marriage partners. Marriage payments
are low. Both matrilocal and patrilocal marriages occur, but for the first
few years marriage is usually matrilocal so that the husband can "get
accustomed". He puts up a temporary hut in the *citente* of his parents-in-
law and becomes a member of their extended family. Later the couple are at
liberty to move. Often the parents of both spouses live in the same
595 village. Lunda marriages tend to be patrilocal. Polygyny is not frequent.
The second wife is usually inherited, e.g. she may be one's elder brother's
widow. A man may marry a younger sister of his wife but not an elder sis-
ter, since she is called *nayofyala*, "mother-in-law".

764 The dead are buried in the bush. A *mvali* (see p.86 above) of the de-
ceased takes part in the ceremony. To divert the thoughts of the partici-

(1) Burton, p.254.
(2) Valdez, II, pp.217-8; cf. Livingstone, I, pp.262-3; Burton, p.42; Dowdich, p.91
(3) Burton, p.253. (4) Valdez, II, p.227; Burton, p.114.
(5) Valdez, op.cit., pp.222-4; Livingstone, I, p.305.
(6) Burton, p.112; Valdez, op.cit., p.255.
(7) Lemitto, I, p.343. (8) ibid., pp.342-3.
(9) ibid., pp.331-2. (10) Livingstone, I, p.276.